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THE STATE OF THE NATION,

AS REPRESENTED TO A CERTAIN GREAT PERSONAGE,

BY

JUNIUS AND THE FREEHOLDER:

AND

THE PETITION OF THE CITIZENS OF LONDON,

FOR

REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES,

WITH THEIR

ADDRESS, REMONSTRANCE, AND PETITION.

To which is added

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER,

WITH JUNIUS'S REMARKS.

LONDON:

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MDCCLXX.

BRITISH MUSEUM

From the MORNING CHRONICLE.

To the K———.

Oct. 31, 1769.

THAT it is the right of the collective body of the people, as well as of individuals, to addreſs the ———, is not leſs clear from the eternal laws of nature than from the poſitive laws of the realm. The power of our ———, like that of any other magiſtrate, is derived from the people; and I know no reaſon why they are complimented with the title of ———, but becauſe they repreſent the Majeſty of the people. No one will deny that the meaneſt individual has a right, and is even in duty bound, to adviſe the people, when he thinks the ſituation of their affairs demands his counſel. It muſt therefore be not only his right, but his duty, to adviſe the Sovereign who repreſents them, and who has it often in his power to put any good advice into ſpeedy and effectual execution. This is no novel, no new-fangled doctrine. For what is the houſe of Commons, but a body of counſellors, deputed by the nation to adviſe with the Prince about the proper adminiſtration of public affairs? Whatever power the people have a right to delegate, they muſt certainly have themſelves a right to exerciſe. Hence I think no apology is neceſſary for addreſſing the ——. I have ſeen many letters directed to the people without any

apology. Are not they as reſpectable as any —? I do not wiſh to draw breath in this iſland, when it ſhall be dangerous to advance ſuch an opinion. Let me then boldly approach the —— and ſpeak as a freeman and a Briton.

Government, Sir, ſeems to have been inſtituted chiefly for theſe three great ends, for the preſervation of the people's lives, for the ſecurity of their property, and for the due adminiſtration of juſtice. As long as the magiſtrates, whether they go under the name of Emperors, Kings, Conſuls, or Stadtholders, anſwer theſe purpoſes, they are intitled not only to the cheerful obedience, but to the grateful acknowledgements of the people. But whenever they fail in theſe eſſential points, and after repeated admonitions and remonſtrances continue in their errors, a diſſolution of government enſues. For protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties; the one depends upon the other. As without the latter a ſubject cannot expect to enjoy his lands, ſo without the former, a — cannot hope to wear his crown. As ſoon as he counteracts the ends of his inſtitution, and, inſtead of being their defender, their preſerver and judge, becomes their deſtroyer, their tyrant and oppreſſor, he forfeits the character of a —, and ſinks to a private individual. When he breaks through the pale of the law, every man has a right to hunt him out of ſociety, like a wild beaſt that has broke looſe from his cage; and it ſhall happen to him, as to Cain, *that every one, that findeth him, ſhall ſlay him.*

Far be it from me, and God forbid it ſhould be thought that your ——— ſtands in this predicament. I know you muſt be ſenſible that the law is above you. Your family was upon this condition raiſed to the throne, and it is the tenure by which you hold your crown. Whence is it then that the lives of the people have been wantonly

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ſacrificed, their property unconſtitutionally invaded, and the laws ſcandalouſly perverted by the government? To whom ſhall we attribute the murders of late committed, the unprecedented manner of making up the deficiences of the civil liſt, the ſtopping of the courſe of juſtice in the Exchequer, and the impriſonment of Bingley? The voice of the whole nation, and the many petitions preſented, and to be preſented to your ———, declare your miniſters to be the original authors. Yet do they not ſtill enjoy your confidence, and engroſs your ear? What cauſe can we aſſign for this ſtrange conduct? Is it that the voice of the people expires and dies away at the gates of the palace? Partial and unfaithful repreſentations of their ſentiments are certainly made to your ———. Indeed how can it be otherwiſe? When was it ever known that a criminal did not ſoften the evidence againſt himſelf? But a juſt and conſcientious judge will be cautious in giving full credit to his allegations. It is in vain that your ſervants endeavour to hoodwink your eyes, and to perſuade you that their meaſures are not obnoxious to the majority of the nation. The greateſt and beſt part of your ſubjects have either already remonſtrated, or are on the point of remonſtrating, againſt their pernicious deſigns. The name of patriotiſm is catching: the reſt will ſoon feel its warmth, and kindle in the general blaze. One muſt ſhut his eyes not to ſee this; for it is no myſtery how the addreſſes were procured. The names, the numbers of the ſubſcribers, ſerved all to expoſe the inttigues of the miniſtry, and the contempt into which their cauſe was fallen. Some places have diſavowed theſe ſurreptitious addreſſes; and all execrate the memory of thoſe who promoted them. The unfortunate voyage of the merchant adventurers to your palace is a ſufficient proof how odious they are to

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the people. You have in all probability ſeen the laſt of them; for the very fabricators begin to be aſhamed, and in all public places to hide their diminiſhed heads. But petitions and remonſtrances are likely to increaſe and multiply. They ſtart up like the Lernæan Hydra's heads, no ſooner is one preſented, but two more are found to be on their way to court. Scotland itſelf, notwithſtanding its averſion to Mr. Wilkes, and its inattention to any thing but religious liberty, begins to ſee through the miſt, which its ſlaviſh repreſentatives have, by miniſterial direction, ſpread before its eyes, and is thought to be on the eve of petitioning.

All the petitions aim at the ſame objects, the removal of the preſent miniſtry, and the diſſolution of the parliament. Some of them indeed do not expreſsly name the latter circumſtance; but it is tacitly underſtood. For what other remedy to the evils complained of is lodged in your ———'s hands? If this ſtep be not ſpeedily taken, they will, by reiterated petitions, ſoon demonſtrate that this was their meaning. It would be no mark of imprudence to underſtand them in this ſenſe, and by a compliance with their deſires to prevent the increaſe of thoſe heart-burnings and jealouſies, which are already too widely diffuſed. It is no eaſy matter to govern a nation againſt its own conſent, in any country; much leſs in this, where a king or miniſtry, who have not the affections of the people, are nothing at all. That your miniſters are thus ſituated, let the petitions, let the treatment they have received, in their progreſs through the country, declare. Where they expected marks of reſpect, and ſhouts of applauſe, they have found it difficult to eſcape with their lives. Ought the Father of his People to deſire any other reaſon for baniſhing them from his preſence for ever? Or

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can he expect a better plea for the diſſolution of the parliament, than the people's declaring that they can place no farther confidence in it?

It is not my deſign to write a libel. An evil adminiſtration is the worſt of libels. It alienates the affections of the ſubjects, and ſows the ſeeds of tumults, inſurrections, and rebellions. The firſt have already diſturbed the quiet of your dominions, and even of your palace. The other two will, I fear, tread faſt on their heels, and ſhake the throne, if the nation cannot obtain theſe two points of your ——.

The evil counſellors, who at preſent ſurround you, and endeavour to perſuade you the generality of the nation approves of their meaſures, and that only a few diſcontented levellers have raiſed the preſent murmurs and clamours; theſe men, I ſay, are the deſcendants of thoſe, who inſtilled the ſame dangerous poiſon into the ears of the Stuarts, and precipitated that weak, that bigoted, and infatuated family into ruin. They have not degenerated from their anceſtors. They profeſs their ſlaviſh principles. They practiſe their arbitrary leſſons. Strangers to the civil equality of the laws, they would lick the duſt off the Sovereign's ſhoes, in order to ſee the reſt of the people proſtrate at their feet. They care not how much they are debaſed in the drawing room, provided they can have their revenge by trampling on the necks of their fellow-citizens. Such reptiles there will be in all countries; but how dangerous is it to the prince, who in a free country liſtens to their counſel! They are his moſt dangerous enemies. They would have perſuaded Charles the Second, that it was better to be the viceroy of a great king (meaning Lewis the XIV.) than to be controlled by his own ſubjects. Their advice had like to have coſt him

him his crown. He was within an inch of being obliged to ſet out once more upon his travels.

The preſent miniſtry may perhaps imagine, that they can effect a breach between the army and the people, and thus eſtabliſh at once their power and ſecurity. But, notwithſtanding all their attempts to bias the military gentlemen to their ſide, I believe they will find it difficult to ſucceed. Even the Spaniſh guards refuſed to fire on their own countrymen, when they were engaged in a national cauſe. Will Engliſhmen be leſs generous? Even the third regiment would have been more cautious, were it not for the unfortunate animoſities, which the intemperate zeal of ſome political writers had excited between the two nations. Nothing can ſhow the villany of the miniſters in more glaring colours than that they employed them in ſuch a ſervice, at ſuch a juncture.

But were the ſoldiery to be as obſequious as they could deſire, it would avail but little. The militia, which, with the trained bands, is twice as numerous, and would ſoon be as formidable, in point of diſcipline, as they are already in valour, could not be gained over. What then would it ſignify, to debauch the army from the intereſts of the people? Such a ſtep would have no other effect, but that of throwing every thing into confuſion, and bringing to certain ruin, them, and every one who ſhould adhere to their cauſe. America would certainly unite as one man againſt them. Ireland would not be backward in joining the ſons of liberty; and I am miſtaken, if Scotland would not at laſt be drawn into the general vortex. Moved then by all theſe conſiderations, deign to liſten to the earneſt entreaties of your people; diſmiſs your preſent miniſters, and diſſolve your parliament. Thus, as at the beginning of your reign, you will once more iſſue forth from

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your palace, with the ſhouts and acclamations of your ſubjects; and, like the ſun in his meridian ſplendor, warm, cheer, and invigorate all around you.

A Loyal FREEHOLDER.

From the MORNING CHRONICLE.

To the K—.

SIR, *Dec.* 18, 1769.

THE infamy of your miniſters becomes every day more and more notorious. Scarce an hour paſſes without bringing to light ſome new crime or miſdemeanor, of which they have been guilty. No ſooner is one of them convicted by his own letter of encouraging the maſſacre of your ſubjects, but another is found to proſtitute your royal name in thanks to the perpetrators of the foul deed. This miniſter is fined for invading the liberty of the preſs and breaking the laws of his country: that is detected in robbing the Exchequer to rerund him the money, and puniſh the people for *his* crime. A paymaſter ſecrets in his private hands unaccounted millions of public money; a treaſurer ſcreens him by iſſuing illegal warrants. The ſame treaſurer, and your prime miniſter, proſecutes a fooliſh pſeudo-patriot for corruption, and is in the very midſt of this act of public juſtice found guilty of the crime, which he arraigns,

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and proved to be, what the world knew before, the moſt corrupt of mortals.

What can be added to this picture, which is ſketched by the hand of truth? Your miniſters, to fill the higheſt meaſure of iniquity, want nothing but to have their arm red with murder, and without the intervention of inferior agents to be drenched in the blood of the people. This is the point, at which they aim; for it is neceſſary to the ſecurity of their crimes. Their heads depend upon the doubtful iſſue of a civil war. To ſave themſelves they muſt riſk the ſtability of your throne. I fear they will prove too ſucceſsful in their dark and treaſonable ſcheme. If the deſires of the people be not ſoon gratified by the diſſolution of the preſent miniſtry, they will be driven to deſpair and madneſs. Seeing their liberties and properties endangered by the corruption and treachery of thoſe, to whom their authority is delegated, they will be apt to exerciſe, what God and nature have given them, the right of puniſhing unfaithful ſervants, and ſubſtituting others in their place.

What will become of your Majeſty in this dreadful ſhock? I tremble to think of conſequences, when the people is ranged on one ſide, and your miniſtry on the other. It is not every one, that will diſtinguiſh between the maſter and the ſervant in ſuch rencounters. Kings, to be ſure, are privileged, and may do many deeds unpuniſhed, which would bring certain deſtruction on the heads of ordinary mortals. Were I entruſted with the affairs of a ſociety, and were I to manage them by the hand of thieves, robbers and murderers, I ſhould be conſidered as little better than my agents. But Kings can do no wrong. That is the maxim, by which their actions are to be tried. It would be a very good one, at leaſt, very convenient for backſliding monarchs, did not the generality

nerality of men find it too hard of digeſtion, and think the mention of it an affront upon their underſtanding, which can allow it no more applicable to a temporal than to a ſpiritual prince. The infallibility of the pope has been long exploded in this iſland. The minds of men are of a very encroaching nature: no ſooner have they overturned the main pillar of church-craft but they endeavour to unhinge the corner ſtone of king-craft. By ſome fatality, it is with grief I relate it! the people of this land have very little faith in the infallibility of kings.

But though they do not abſolutely deify them, yet have they no little reverence for the name; and it is a ſure ſign that a prince has loſt the brighteſt jewel in his crown, the affections of his people, when papers freely canvaſſing his conduct are bought with avidity, and read with pleaſure. The very ſound of majeſty covers a multitude of ſins. When that veil begins once to be penetrated by the profane eyes of the vulgar, it is time to ſteer a new courſe; *tempus dare vela retrorſum:* the character of the prince is as little ſacred as the myſteries of ſtate writers will, like Sir Thomas Hales in Charles's days, expoſe with as much freedom as impunity the nakedneſs of the ſovereign, and receive the thanks and applauſes of the approving people.

Hence a King of England is the moſt inexcuſable of men, if he remains long unpopular; becauſe, in ſpite of all the arts uſed by the ſycophants of power, the voice of the nation ſoon becomes clear and ſtrong, and drowns the noiſy clamours of an intereſted faction; and a king, who does not liſten to its perſuaſions, and thus regain its confidence, is unworthy of his crown; indeed he is in the eye of reaſon fallen from his regal dignity; as the majority, from whom alone he can derive le-

gal authority, pronounce in their hearts the ſentence of his depoſition.

It is in vain that he pretends to conſult their intereſt by oppoſing their inclinations, and ſubſtituting his own will for their expreſs and declared opinion. In the multitude of counſellors is wiſdom and ſafety. The danger of ſuch a ſtep can be equalled only by its preſumption. For what can be a greater ſoleciſm in politics, what a greater mockery of common ſenſe, than to make the decrees of millions reverſible by the caprice of a ſingle man? A Theocracy alone can warrant ſuch a controlling power over the people.

But why do I urge this point? Surely none but your majeſty's and the kingdom's enemies, to whom you will not liſten, can adviſe you to ſet your face againſt your people by refuſing to diſſolve the parliament. Neither your majeſty nor your counſellors can be ignorant that you are more miniſterial than magiſterial in convoking and diſſolving theſe aſſemblies. The Kings of England indeed, by being the chief magiſtrates or firſt ſervants of the people, have the beſt opportunity of knowing the ſtate of their affairs. They have therefore from time immemorial been accuſtomed to call together the repreſentatives of the nation, in order to receive their advice and direction in every momentous concern; and to diſſolve, or allow them to return to their conſtituents, when there was no farther occaſion for their ſervice. From long uſe they are ſuppoſed to have acquired a kind of preſcriptive right to the exerciſe of this power; and though ſanctified by no poſitive law or conſtitution, it is apprehended to be an unalienable part of the prerogative.

But it is well worth your obſervation, that no ſingle atom of the prerogative is neceſſarily entailed upon the Crown. The whole power known under

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that name, was either granted or tolerated by the people for their own good. Therefore, when any part of it no longer anſwers that end, they have a right to reſume it into their own hands. They have often ſtript their Sovereigns of the whole, much more may they ſtrip them of a part.

Will it then be improper for you to conſider, whether the people may not, by an obſtinate refuſal of this point, be tempted to retrench the prerogative. Unreaſonable oppoſition to their juſt demands has frequently been attended with ſuch conſequences. The more tenacious the Crown has been of any obnoxious power, the more it has loſt. The people have ſeldom ſtopt ſhort upon gaining the original object of the quarrel: they have ſometimes proceeded ſo far in their reformation, as to leave the Crown naked and defenceleſs.

Who knows but they may on this occaſion aſſume the privilege of recalling their members, when they are diſpleaſed with their conduct? Now that parliaments are ſeptennial, which is nearly the ſame as if they were perpetual, this ſtep is as neceſſary as it ſeems legal and conſtitutional. Though there is a law, which ſays that parliaments ſhall ſit ſeven years, there is none which ordains that the ſame member ſhall repreſent this or that place for the ſame ſpace of time. All members being deputies or commiſſioners, their conſtituents have a right to annul their commiſſion, whenever they pleaſe, and to appoint others in their ſtead. The conſtitution cannot ſurely have placed the public in general upon a worſe footing in this reſpect than private individuals. In my domeſtic economy, I am authoriſed both by natural and poſitive law to diſcharge an unworthy ſervant: Who will have the effrontery to aſſert, that the nation is not intitled to a like right? It has, I own, been little exerciſed; and the reaſon is, that parliaments being originally

ginally temporary, and of very ſhort duration, there was no occaſion, or indeed poſſibility, of putting it in practice. But as no cuſtom, no preſcription, can juſtify illegal acts, as appears from the fate of general warrants, ſo no diſuſe can annul the natural charter, the birthright of a nation. The claim of the Engliſh to recall deputies, is as valid as if every page of the Journals of the Lower Houſe bore witneſs to its continual exerciſe. Whether they will chuſe to revive this long dormant claim at the preſent juncture, cannot be very problematical, if your Majeſty does not prevent it by the diſſolution of the parliament. Since they have once adopted the mode of petitioning, they will wait to ſee what redreſs it will procure them. Should they be diſappointed, they muſt ſtrike into this path, which I have pointed out. Had they done it at firſt, they would have perhaps diſcovered more reverence for the conſtitution, and diſplayed more wiſdom than is obſervable in their preſent conduct.

The FREEHOLDER,

From

From the PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

December 19, 1769.

When the complaints of a brave and powerful people are obſerved to increaſe in proportion to the wrongs they have ſuffered; when, inſtead of ſinking into ſubmiſſion, they are rouſed to reſiſtance, the time will ſoon arrive at which every inferior conſideration muſt yield to the ſecurity of the ſovereign, and to the general ſafety of the ſtate. There is a moment of difficulty and danger, at which flattery and falſhood can no longer deceive, and ſimplicity itſelf can no longer be miſled. Let us ſuppoſe it arrived. Let us ſuppoſe a gracious, well-intentioned prince, made ſenſible at laſt of the great duty he owes to his people, and of his own diſgraceful ſituation; that he looks round him for aſſiſtance, and aſks for no advice, but how to gratify the wiſhes, and ſecure the happineſs of his ſubjects. In theſe circumſtances it may be matter of curious SPECULATION to conſider, if an honeſt man were permitted to approach a king, in what terms he would addreſs himſelf to his Sovereign. Let it be imagined, no matter how improbable, that the firſt prejudice againſt his character is removed, that the ceremonious difficulties of an audience are ſurmounted, that he feels himſelf animated

mated by the pureſt and moſt honourable affections to his king and country, and that the great perſon, whom he addreſſes, has ſpirit enough to bid him ſpeak freely, and underſtanding enough to liſten to him with attention. Unacquainted with the vain impertinence of forms, he would deliver his ſentiments with dignity and firmneſs, but not without reſpect.

SIR,

IT is the misfortune of your life, and originally the cauſe of every reproach and diſtreſs, which has attended your government, that you ſhould never have been acquainted with the language of truth, until you heard it in the complaints of your people. It is not, however, too late to correct the error of your education. We are ſtill inclined to make an indulgent allowance for the pernicious leſſons you received in your youth, and to form the moſt ſanguine hopes from the natural benevolence of your diſpoſition. We are far from thinking you capable of a direct, deliberate purpoſe to invade thoſe original rights of your ſubjects, on which all their civil and political liberties depend. Had it been poſſible for us to entertain a ſuſpicion ſo diſhonourable to your character, we ſhould long ſince have adopted a ſtyle of remonſtrance very diſtant from the humility of complaint. The doctrine inculcated by our laws, *That the King can do no Wrong*, is admitted without reluctance. We ſeparate the amiable good-natured prince from the folly and treachery of his ſervants, and the private virtues of the man from the vices of his government. Were it not for this juſt diſtinction, I know

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not whether your M——y's condition, or that of the E——ſh nation, would deſerve moſt to be lamented. I would prepare your mind for a favourable reception of truth, by removing every painful, offenſive idea of perſonal reproach. Your ſubjects, Sir, wiſh for nothing but that, as *they* are reaſonable and affectionate enough to ſeparate your perſon from your government, ſo *you*, in your turn, ſhould diſtinguiſh between the conduct, which becomes the permanent dignity of a k—g, and that which ſerves only to promote the temporary intereſt and miſerable ambition of a miniſter.

You aſcended the throne with a declared, and, I doubt not, a ſincere reſolution of giving univerſal ſatisfaction to your ſubjects. You found them pleaſed with the novelty of a young prince, whoſe countenance promiſed even more than his words, and loyal to you not only from principle, but paſſion. It was not a cold profeſſion of allegiance to the firſt magiſtrate, but a partial, animated attachment to a favourite prince, the native of their country. They did not wait to examine your conduct, nor to be determined by experience, but gave you a generous credit for the future bleſſings of your reign, and paid you in advance the deareſt tribute of their affections. Such, Sir, was once the diſpoſition of a people, who now ſurround your throne with reproaches and complaints. Do juſtice to yourſelf. Baniſh from your mind thoſe unworthy opinions with which ſome intereſted perſons have laboured to poſſeſs you. Diſtruſt the men, who tell you that the Engliſh are naturally light and inconſtant;—that they complain without a cauſe. Withdraw your confidence equally from all parties; from miniſters, favourites, and relations; and let there be one moment in your life in which you have conſulted your own underſtanding.

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When you affectedly renounced the name of Engliſhman, believe me, Sir, you were perſuaded to pay a very ill-judged compliment to one part of your ſubjects, at the expence of another. While the natives of Scotland are not in actual rebellion, they are undoubtedly intitled to protection; nor do I mean to condemn the policy of giving ſome encouragement to the novelty of their affections for the houſe of Hanover. I am ready to hope for every thing from their new-born zeal, and from the future ſteadineſs of their allegiance. But hitherto they have no claim to your favour. To honour them with a determined predilection and confidence, in excluſion of your Engliſh ſubjects, who placed your family, and, in ſpight of treachery and rebellion, have ſupported it upon the t——ne, is a miſtake too groſs, even for the unſuſpecting generoſity of youth. In this error we ſee a capital violation of the moſt obvious rules of policy and prudence. We trace it, however, to an original bias in your education, and are ready to allow for your inexperience.

To the ſame early influence we attribute it, that you have deſcended to take a ſhare not only in the narrow views and intereſts of particular perſons, but in the fatal malignity of their paſſions. At your acceſſion to the throne, the whole ſyſtem of government was altered, not from wiſdom or deliberation, but becauſe it had been adopted by your predeceſſor. A little, perſonal motive of pique and reſentment was ſufficient to remove the ableſt ſervants of the crown; but it is not in this country, Sir, that ſuch men can be diſhonoured by the frowns of a k—. They were diſmiſſed, but could not bediſgraced. Without entering into a minuter diſcuſſion of the merits of the peace, we may obſerve, in the imprudent hurry with which the firſt overtures from France were accepted, in the con-

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duct of the negotiation, and terms of the treaty, the ſtrongeſt marks of that precipitate ſpirit of conceſſion, with which a certain part of your ſubjects have been at all times ready to purchaſe a peace with the natural enemies of this country. On *your* part we are ſatisfied that every thing was honourable and ſincere, and if E——d was ſold to F—e, we doubt not that your M——y was equally betrayed. The conditions of the peace were matter of grief and ſurpriſe to your ſubjects, but not the immediate cauſe of their preſent diſcontent.

Hitherto, Sir, you had been ſacrificed to the prejudices and paſſions of others. With what firmneſs will you bear the mention of your own?

A man, not very honourably diſtinguiſhed in the world, commences a formal attack upon your favourite, conſidering nothing, but how he might beſt expoſe his perſon and principles to deteſtation, and the national character of his countrymen to contempt. The natives of that country, Sir, are as much diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar character as by your M——y's favour. Like another choſen people, they have been conducted into the Land of Plenty, where they find themſelves effectually marked, and divided from mankind. There is hardly a period, at which the moſt irregular character may not be redeemed. The miſtakes of one ſex find a retreat in patriotiſm; thoſe of the other in devotion. Mr. Wilkes brought with him into politics the ſame liberal ſentiments by which his private conduct had been directed, and ſeemed to think, that, as there are few exceſſes, in which an Engliſh gentleman may not be permitted to indulge, the ſame latitude was allowed him in the choice of his political principles, and in the ſpirit of maintaining them.—I mean to ſtate, not entirely to defend his conduct. In the earneſtneſs of his zeal, he ſuffered ſome unwarrantable inſinuations to eſcape him.

He ſaid more than moderate men would juſtify; but not enough to entitle him to the honour of your M——y's perſonal reſentment. The rays of r—l indignation, collected upon him, ſerved only to illuminate, and could not conſume. Animated by the favour of the people on one ſide, and heated by perſecution on the other, his views and ſentiments changed with his ſituation. Hardly ſerious at firſt, he is now an enthuſiaſt. The coldeſt bodies warm with oppoſition, the hardeſt ſparkle in colliſion. There is a holy miſtaken zeal in politics as well as religion. By perſuading others, we convince ourſelves. The paſſions are engaged, and create a maternal affection in the mind, which forces us to love the cauſe for which we ſuffer.—Is this a contention worthy of a K—? Are you not ſenſible how much the meanneſs of the cauſe gives an air of ridicule to the ſerious difficulties into which you have been betrayed? The deſtruction of one man has been now, for many years, the ſole object of your government, and if there can be any thing ſtill more diſgraceful, we have ſeen, for ſuch an object, the utmoſt influence of the executive power and every miniſterial artifice exerted without ſucceſs. Nor can you ever ſucceed, unleſs *he* ſhould be imprudent enough to forfeit the protection of thoſe laws, to which you owe your c—n, or unleſs your miniſters ſhould perſuade you to make it a queſtion of force alone, and try the whole ſtrength of government in oppoſition to the people. The leſſons *he* has received from experience will probably guard him from ſuch exceſs of folly; and in your M——y's virtues we find an unqueſtionable aſſurance that no illegal violence will be attempted.

Far from ſuſpecting you of ſo horrible a deſign, we would attribute the continued violation of the laws, and even this laſt enormous attack upon the vital

vital principles of the conſtitution, to an ill-adviſed, unworthy, perſonal reſentment. From one falſe ſtep you have been betrayed into another, and as the cauſe was unworthy of you, your miniſters were determined that the prudence of the execution ſhould correſpond with the wiſdom and dignity of the deſign. They have reduced you to the neceſſity of chooſing out of a variety of difficulties;—to a ſituation ſo unhapyy, that you can neither do wrong without ruin, nor right without affliction. Theſe worthy ſervants have undoubtedly given you many ſingular proofs of their abilities. Not contented with making Mr. Wilkes a man of importance, they have judiciouſly transferred the queſtion from the rights and intereſts of one man to the moſt important rights and intereſts of the people, and forced your ſubjects from wiſhing well to the cauſe of an individual, to unite with him in their own. Let them proceed as they have begun, and your M——y need not doubt that the cataſtrophe will do no diſhonour to the conduct of the piece.

The circumſtances to which you are reduced will not admit of a compromiſe with the Engliſh nation. Undeciſive, qualifying meaſures will diſgrace your government ſtill more than open violence, and, without ſatisfying the people, will excite their contempt. They have two much underſtanding and ſpirit to accept of an indirect ſatisfaction for a direct injury. Nothing leſs than a repeal, as formal as the reſolution itſelf, can heal the wound, which has been given to the conſtitution, nor will any thing leſs be accepted. I can readily believe that there is an influence ſufficient to recal that pernicious vote. The h— of —— undoubtedly conſider their duty to the c—n as paramount to all other obligations. To *us* they are only indebted for an accidental exiſtence and have

have juſtly transferred their gratitude from their parents to their benefactors;—from thoſe, who gave them birth, to the miniſter, from whoſe benevolence they derive the comforts and pleaſures of their political life;—who has taken the tendereſt care of their infancy, relieves their neceſſities without offending their delicacy, and has given them, what they value moſt, a virtuous education. But, if it were poſſible for their integrity to be degraded to a condition ſo vile and abject, that, compared with it, the preſent eſtimation they ſtand in is a ſtate of honour and reſpect, conſider, Sir, in what manner you will afterwards proceed. Can you conceive that the people of this country will long ſubmit to be governed by ſo flexible a h— of ——! It is not in the nature of human ſociety, that any form of government, in ſuch circumſtances, can long be preſerved. In ours the general contempt of the people is as fatal as their deteſtation. Such, I am perſuaded, would be the neceſſary effect of any baſe conceſſion made by the preſent h— of ——, and, as a qualifying meaſure would not be accepted, it remains for you to decide whether you will, at any hazard, ſupport a ſet of men, who have reduced you to this unhappy dilemma, or whether you will gratify the united wiſhes of the whole people of England by diſſolving the p———.

Taking it for granted, as I do very ſincerely, that you have perſonally no deſign againſt the conſtitution, nor any views inconſiſtent with the good of your ſubjects, I think you cannot heſitate long upon the choice, which it equally concerns your intereſt, and your honour to adopt. On one ſide, you hazard the affections of all your Engliſh ſubjects; you relinquiſh every hope of repoſe to yourſelf, and you endanger the eſtabliſhment of your family for ever. All this you venture for

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no object whatsoever, or for such an object, as it would be an affront to you to name. Men of sense will examine your conduct with suspicion; while those who are incapable of comprehending to what degree they are injured, afflict you with clamours equally insolent and unmeaning. Supposing it possible that no fatal struggle should ensue, you determine at once to be unhappy, without the hope of a compensation either from interest or ambition. If an E——h k— be hated or despised, he *must* be unhappy; and this perhaps is the only political truth, which he ought to be convinced of without experiment. But if the English people should no longer confine their resentment to a submissive representation of their wrongs; if, following the glorious example of their ancestors, they should no longer appeal to the creature of the constitution, but to that high Being, who gave them the rights of humanity, whose gifts it were sacrilege to surrender, let me ask you, Sir, upon what part of your subjects would you rely for assistance?

The people of I—l—d have been uniformly plundered and oppressed. In return, they give you every day fresh marks of their resentment. They despise the miserable governor you have sent them, because he is the creature of lord Bute; nor is it from any natural confusion in their ideas, that they are so ready to confound the original of a k— with the disgraceful representation of him.

The distance of the Colonies would make it impossible for them to take an active concern in your affairs, if they were as well affected to your government as they once pretended to be to your person. They were ready enough to distinguish between *you* and your ministers. They complained of an act of the legislature, but traced the origin of it no higher than to the servants of the c——n:

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They pleaſed themſelves with the hope that their S—r—n, if not favourable to their cauſe, at leaſt was impartial. The deciſive, perſonal part you took againſt them, has effectually baniſhed that firſt diſtinction from their minds. They conſider you as united with your ſervants againſt A—r—a, and know how to diſtinguiſh the S—r—n and a venal p——t on one ſide, from the real ſentiments of the Engliſh people on the other. Looking forward to independence, they might poſſibly receive you for their k—g; but, if ever you retire to A—r—a, be aſſured they will give you ſuch a covenant to digeſt, as the preſbytery of Scotland would have been aſhamed to offer to Charles the Second. They left their native land in ſearch of freedom, and found it in a deſart. Divided as they are into a thouſand forms of policy and religion, there is one point in which they all agree: they equally deteſt the pageantry of a k—g, and the ſupercilious hypocriſy of a biſhop.

It is not then from the alienated affections of I—l—d or A—r—a, that you can reaſonably look for aſſiſtance; ſtill leſs from the people of E—l—d, who are actually contending for their rights, and in this great queſtion, are parties againſt you. You are not however, deſtitute of every appearance of ſupport: You have all the Jacobites, Nonjurors, Roman Catholics, and Tories of this country, and all S—l—d without exception. Conſidering from what family you are deſcended, the choice of your friends has been ſingularly directed; and truly, Sir, if you had not loſt the whig intereſt of England, I ſhould admire your dexterity in turning the hearts of your enemies. Is it poſſible for you to place any confidence in men, who, before they are faithful to you, muſt renounce every opinion, and betray every principle, both in church and ſtate, which they inherit from their anceſtors, and

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are confirmed in by their education? whoſe numbers are ſo inconſiderable, that they have long ſince been obliged to give up the principles and language which diſtinguiſhed them as a party, and to fight under the banners of their enemies? Their zeal begins with hypocriſy, and muſt conclude in treachery. At firſt they deceive; at laſt they betray.

As to the Scotch, I muſt ſuppoſe your heart and underſtanding ſo biaſſed, from your earlieſt infancy, in their favour, that nothing leſs than *your own* misfortunes can undeceive you. You will not accept of the uniform experience of your anceſtors; and when once a man is determined to believe, the very abſurdity of the doctrine confirms him in his faith. A bigotted underſtanding can draw a proof of attachment to the houſe of H—n —r from a notorious zeal for the houſe of Stuart, and find an earneſt of future loyalty in former rebellions. Appearances are however in their favour; ſo ſtrongly indeed, that one would think they had forgotten that you are their lawful k—, and had miſtaken you for a pretender to the c——n. Let it be admitted then that the Scotch are as ſincere in their preſent profeſſions, as if you were in reality not an Engliſhman, but a Briton of the North, you would not be the firſt p—ce of their native country againſt whom they have rebelled, nor the firſt whom they have baſely betrayed. Have you forgotten, Sir, or has your favourite concealed from you that part of our hiſtory, when the unhappy Charles (and he too had private virtues) fled from the open avowed indignation of his Engliſh ſubjects, and ſurrendered himſelf at diſcretion to the good faith of his own countrymen. Without looking for ſupport in their affections as ſubjects, he applied only to their honour as gentlemen, for protection. They received him as they would

would your M——y, with bows, and ſmiles, and falſehood, and kept him until they had ſettled their bargain with the Engliſh parliament; then baſely ſold their native K— to the vengeance of his enemies. This, Sir, was not the act of a few traitors, but the deliberate treachery of a Scotch parliament repreſenting the nation. A wiſe p—ce might draw from it two leſſons of equal utility to himſelf. On one ſide he might learn to dread the undiſguiſed reſentment of a generous people, who dare openly aſſert their rights, and who, in a juſt cauſe, are ready to meet their S——n in the field. On the other ſide, he would be taught to apprehend ſomething far more formidable;———a fawning treachery, againſt which no prudence can guard, no courage can defend. The inſidious ſmiles upon the cheek would warn him of the canker in the heart.

From the uſes, to which one part of the army has been too frequently applied, you have ſome reaſon to expect, that there are no ſervices they would refuſe. Here too we trace the partiality of your underſtanding. You take the ſenſe of the army from the conduct of the guards, with the ſame juſtice with which you collect the ſenſe of the people from the repreſentations of the miniſtry. Your marching regiments, Sir, will not make the guards their example either as ſoldiers or ſubjects. They feel and reſent, as they ought to do, that invariable, undiſtinguiſhing favour with which the guards are treated; while thoſe gallant troops, by whom every hazardous, every laborious ſervice is performed, are left to periſh in garriſons abroad, or pine in quarters at home, neglected and forgotten. If they had no ſenſe of the great original duty they owe their country, their reſentment would operate like patriotiſm, and leave your cauſe to be defended by thoſe to whom you have

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laviſhed the rewards and honours of their profeſſion. The prætorian bands, enervated and debauched as they were, had ſtill ſtrength enough to awe the Roman populace: but when the diſtant legions took the alarm, they marched to Rome, and gave away the empire.

On this ſide then, which ever way you turn your eyes, you ſee nothing but perplexity and diſtreſs. You may determine to ſupport the very miniſtry who have reduced your affairs to this deplorable ſituation: you may ſhelter yourſelf under the forms of a p——t, and ſet your people at defiance. But be aſſured, Sir, that ſuch a reſolution would be as imprudent as it would be odious. If it did not immediately ſhake your eſtabliſhment, it would rob you of your peace of mind for ever.

On the other, how different is the proſpect! How eaſy, how ſafe and honourable is the path before you! The Engliſh nation declare they are groſsly injured by their repreſentatives, and ſolicit your M—— to exert your lawful prerogative, and give them an opportunity of recalling a truſt, which, they find, has been ſo ſcandalouſly abuſed. You are not to be told that the power of the h—— of —— is not original, but delegated to them for the welfare of the people, from whom they received it. A queſtion of right ariſes between the conſtituent and the repreſentative body. By what authority ſhall it be decided? Will your M—— interfere in a queſtion in which you have properly no immediate concern? It would be a ſtep equally odious and unneceſſary. Shall the lords be called upon to determine the rights and privileges of the commons? They cannot do it without a flagrant breach of the conſtitution. Or will you refer it to the judges? They have often told your anceſtors, that the law of paliament is above them.

What party then remains but to leave it to the people to determine for themſelves? They alone are injured; and ſince there is no ſuperior power to which the cauſe can be referred, they alone ought to determine.

I do not mean to perplex you with a tedious argument upon a ſubject already ſo diſcuſſed, that inſpiration could hardly throw a new light upon it. There are, however, two points of view, in which it particularly imports your M——— to conſider the late proceedings of the h——— of———. By depriving a ſubject of his birthright, they have attributed to their own vote an authority equal to an act of the whole legiſlature; and, tho' perhaps not with the ſame motives, have ſtrictly followed the example of the long parliament, which firſt declared the regal office uſeleſs, and ſoon after, with as little ceremony, diſſolved the houſe of lords. The ſame pretended power, which robs an Engliſh ſubject of his birthright, may rob an Engliſh k——— of his c——n. In another view, the reſolution of the h—— of ——, apparently not ſo dangerous to your M———, is ſtill more alarming to your people. Not contented with diveſting one man of his right, they have arbitrarily conveyed that right to another. They have ſet aſide a return as illegal, without daring to cenſure thoſe officers who were particularly apprized of Mr. Wilkes's incapacity, not only by the declaration of the h——, but expreſly by the writ directed to them, and who nevertheleſs returned him as duly elected. They have rejected the majority of votes, the only criterion by which our laws judge of the ſenſe of the people; they have transferred the right of election from the collective to the repreſentative body; and by theſe acts, taken ſeparately or together, they have eſſentially altered the original conſtitution of the h—— of ——. Verſed, as your

your M—— undoubtedly is, in the Engliſh hiſtory, it cannot eaſily eſcape you, how much it is your intereſt, as well as your duty to prevent one of the three eſtates from encroaching upon the province of the other two, or aſſuming the authority of them all. When once they have departed from the great conſtitutional line, by which all their proceedings ſhould be directed, who will anſwer for their future moderation? Or what aſſurance will they give you, that, when they have trampled upon their equals, they will ſubmit to a ſuperior? Your M——— may learn hereafter, how nearly the ſlave and tyrant are allied.

Some of your council, more candid than the reſt, admit the abandoned profligacy of the preſent h—— of ——, but oppoſe their diſſolution upon an opinion, I confeſs not very unwarrantable, that their ſucceſſors would be equally at the diſpoſal of the treaſury. I cannot perſuade myſelf that the nation will have profited ſo little by experience. But if that opinion were well founded, you might then gratify our wiſhes at an eaſy rate, and appeaſe the preſent clamour againſt your government without offering any material injury to the favourite cauſe of corruption.

You have ſtill an honourable part to act. The affections of your ſubjects may ſtill be recovered. But before you ſubdue *their* hearts, you muſt gain a noble victory over your own. Diſcard thoſe little perſonal reſentments which have too long directed your public conduct. Pardon this man the remainder of his puniſhment, and if reſentment ſtill prevails, make it, what it ſhould have been long ſince, an act, not of mercy, but contempt. He will ſoon fall back into his natural ſtation,—a ſilent ſenator, and hardly ſupporting the weekly eloquence of a news paper. The gentle breath of peace would

would leave him on the ſurface, neglected and unremoved. It is only the tempeſt that lifts him from his place.

Without conſulting your miniſter, call together your whole council. Let it appear to the public that you can determine and act for yourſelf. Come forward to your people. Lay aſide the wretched formalities of a K——, and ſpeak to your ſubjects with the ſpirit of a man, and in the language of a gentleman. Tell them you have been fatally deceived. The acknowledgment will be no diſgrace, but rather an honour to your underſtanding. Tell them you are determined to remove every cauſe of complaint againſt your government; that you will give your confidence to no man who does not poſſeſs the confidence of your ſubjects; and you will leave it to themſelves to determine, by their conduct at a future election, whether or no it be in reality the general ſenſe of the nation, that their rights have been arbitrarily invaded by the preſent h——of——, and the conſtitution betrayed. They will then do juſtice to their repreſentatives and to themſelves.

Theſe ſentiments, Sir, and the ſtyle they are conveyed in, may be offenſive, perhaps, becauſe they are new to you, Accuſtomed to the language of courtiers, you meaſure their affections by the vehemence of their expreſſions; and when they only praiſe you indirectly, you admire their ſincerity. But this is not a time to trifle with your fortune. They deceive you, Sir, who tell you that you have many friends, whoſe affections are founded upon a principle of perſonal attachments. The firſt foundation of friendſhip is not the power of conferring benefits, but the equality with which they are received, and *may* be returned. The for-

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tune which made you a K—— forbade you to have a friend. It is a law of nature which cannot be violated with impunity. The miſtaken p——e, who looks for friendſhip, will find a favourite, and in that favourite the ruin of his affairs.

The people of E—gl—d are loyal to the Houſe of Ha—ver, not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction that the eſtabliſhment of that family was neceſſary to the ſupport of their civil and religious liberties. This, Sir, is a principle of allegiance equally ſolid and rational, fit for Engliſhmen to adopt, and well worthy of your M——y's encouragement. We cannot long be deluded by nominal diſtinctions. The name of Stuart, of itſelf, is only contemptible;—armed with the ſovereign authority, their principles were formidable. The Prince, who imitates their conduct, ſhould be warned by their example; and while he plumes himſelf upon the ſecurity of his title to the crown, ſhould remember, that, as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be loſt by another.

JUNIUS.

THE PETITION OF THE LIVERY OF LONDON,

Preſented to His Majesty, on the 5th of July, 1769,

By the Right Hon. SAMUEL TURNER, Lord-Mayor, attended by Sir Robert Ladbroke, Knight, William Beckford, Eſq; and Barlow Trecothick, Eſq; three of the members for the city of London, together with the two Sheriffs, and the city Remembrancer.

Most Gracious Sovereign!

WE your Majeſty's dutiful and loyal Subjects, the LIVERY of the City of LONDON, with all the humility which is due from Free Subjects to their Lawful Sovereign, but with all the anxiety which the ſenſe of the preſent oppreſſions, and the juſt dread of future miſchiefs, produce in our minds, beg leave to lay before Your Majeſty, ſome of thoſe Intolerable Grievances, which your People have ſuffered from the evil conduct of thoſe who have been intruſted with the adminiſtration of Your Majeſty's government, and

and from the ſecret, unremitting influence of the WORST of Counſellors.

We ſhould be wanting in our duty to Your Majeſty, as well as to ourſelves and our poſterity, ſhould we forbear to repreſent to the throne, the deſperate attempts which have been, and are, too ſucceſsfully made, to deſtroy that conſtitution, to the ſpirit of which we owe the relation which ſubſiſts between YOUR MAJESTY and the SUBJECTS *of Theſe Realms*, and to ſubvert thoſe SACRED LAWS, which OUR ANCESTORS have ſealed with their BLOOD.

Your Miniſters, from corrupt principles, and in violation of every duty, have, by various enumerated means, invaded our invaluable and unalienable right of TRIAL BY JURY.

They have, with impunity, iſſued GENERAL WARRANTS, and VIOLENTLY SEIZED perſons and private papers.

They have rendered the LAWS *non-effective to our ſecurity*, by evading the HABEAS CORPUS.

They have cauſed *puniſhments*, and even *perpetual impriſonment*, to be inflicted, without TRIAL, CONVICTION, or SENTENCE.

They have brought into diſrepute the CIVIL MAGISTRACY, by the appointment of perſons who are, in many reſpects, unqualified for that important truſt, and have thereby purpoſely furniſhed a pretence for calling in the aid of a MILITARY POWER.

They avow, and endeavour to eſtabliſh, a maxim, abſolutely inconſiſtent with our conſtitution,—that "an occaſion for *effectually* employing a MILITARY FORCE always preſents itſelf when the "CIVIL POWER is *trifled with, or inſulted*;" and, by a fatal and falſe application of this maxim, they have wantonly and wickedly ſacrificed the lives of many of Your Majeſty's innocent ſubjects,

and

and have proſtituted Your Majeſty's ſacred name and authority, to juſtify, applaud, and recommend their own ILLEGAL and BLOODY actions.

They have ſcreened MORE THAN ONE MURDERER from PUNISHMENT: and in its place have unnaturally ſubſtituted REWARD.

They have eſtabliſhed numberleſs UNCONSTITUTIONAL regulations and taxations in our colonies. They have cauſed a revenue to be raiſed in ſome of them by prerogative. They have appointed civil law judges to try revenue cauſes, and to be paid from out of the condemnation-money.

After having inſulted and defeated the law on different occaſions, and by different contrivances, both at home and abroad, they have at length completed their deſign, by violently wreſting from the people *the laſt ſacred right we had left*, the RIGHT OF ELECTION; by the unprecedented ſeating of a candidate notoriouſly ſet up and choſen only by themſelves. They have thereby taken from your ſubjects all hopes of parliamentary redreſs, and have left us no reſource, under God, but in YOUR MAJESTY.

All this they have been able to effect by corruption; by a ſcandalous miſapplication and embezzlement of the public treaſure, and a ſhameful proſtitution of public honours and employments; procuring deficiences of the civil liſt to be made good without examination; and, inſtead of puniſhing, conferring honours on a PREMIER, the public defaulter of UNACCOUNTED MILLIONS.

From an unfeigned ſenſe of the duty we owe to YOUR MAJESTY, and to OUR COUNTRY, we have ventured thus humbly to lay before the throne theſe great and important truths, which it has been the buſineſs of your miniſters to conceal. We moſt earneſtly beſeech Your Majeſty to grant us redreſs. It is for the purpoſe of redreſs alone, and

for

for ſuch occaſions as the preſent, that thoſe great and extenſive powers are intruſted to the CROWN by the wiſdom of that conſtitution, which YOUR MAJESTY's illuſtrious family was choſen to defend, and which, we truſt in God, it will for ever continue to ſupport.

Tueſday, March 6, 1770.

THE

ADDRESS, REMONSTRANCE, and PETITION,

OF THE

Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall aſſembled.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE have already, in our Petition, dutifully repreſented to your Majeſty the chief injuries we have ſuſtained. We are unwilling to believe that your Majeſty can ſlight the deſires of your people, or be regardleſs of their affection, and deaf to their complaints; yet their complaints remain unanſwered: their injuries are confirmed; and the only judge whom the revolution has left removeable at the pleaſure of the crown, has been diſmiſſed from his high office for defending in

parliament the law and the conſtitution. We therefore venture once more to addreſs ourſelves to your Majeſty, as to the father of your people, as to him who muſt be both able and willing to redreſs our grievances: and we repeat our application with the greater propriety, becauſe we ſee the inſtruments of our wrongs, who have carried into execution the meaſures of which we complain, more particularly diſtinguiſhed by your Majeſty's royal bounty and favour. Under the ſame ſecret malignant influence, which, through each ſucceſſive adminiſtration, has defeated every good, and ſuggeſted every bad intention, the majority of the houſe of commons have deprived your people of their deareſt rights.

They have done a deed, more ruinous in its conſequences than the levying of ſhip-money by Charles the Firſt, or the diſpenſing power aſſumed by James the Second. A deed which muſt vitiate all the future proceedings of this parliament; for the acts of the legiſlature itſelf can no more be valid without a legal Houſe of Commons, than without a legal prince upon the throne.

Repreſentatives of the people are eſſential to the making of laws; and there is a time when it is morally demonſtrable that men ceaſe to be repreſentatives. That time is now arrived. The preſent Houſe of Commons do not repreſent the people. We owe to your Majeſty an obedience, under the reſtrictions of the laws, for the calling and duration of Parliaments: and your Majeſty owes to us, that our repreſentation, free from the force of arms or corruption, ſhould be preſerved to us in them.

It was for this we ſucceſsfully ſtruggled under James the Second; for this we ſeated and have faithfully ſupported your Majeſty's family on the throne.

The

The people have been invariably uniform in their object: though the different mode of attack has called for a different defence.

Under James the Second they complained, that the ſitting of Parliament was interrupted, becauſe it was not corruptly ſubſervient enough to his deſigns. We complain now, that the ſitting of this parliament is not interrupted, becauſe it is corruptly too ſubſervient to the deſigns of your Majeſty's miniſters. Had the parliament under James the ſecond been as ſubmiſſive to his commands, as it is at this day to the dictates of a miniſter, inſtead of clamours for its meeting, the nation would have rung, as now, with outcries for its diſſolution. The forms of the conſtitution, like thoſe of religion, were not eſtabliſhed for the form's ſake; but for the ſubſtance. And we call God and men to witneſs, that as we do not owe our liberty to thoſe nice and ſubtle diſtinctions, which places and penſions, and lucrative employments have invented, ſo neither will we be cheated of it by them: but as it was gained by the ſtern virtue of our anceſtors, by the virtue of their deſcendants it ſhall be preſerved.

Since therefore the miſdeeds of your Majeſty's miniſters in violating the freedom of election, and depraving the noble conſtitution of parliament, are notorious, as well as ſubverſive of the fundamental laws and liberties of this realm; and ſince your Majeſty, both in honour and juſtice, is obliged inviolably to preſerve them according to the oath made to God, and your ſubjects at your coronation, We, your remonſtrants, aſſure ourſelves that your Majeſty will reſtore the conſtitional government and quiet of your people, by diſſolving this parliament, and removing thoſe evil miniſters for ever from your councils."

On

On Wedneſday, at half an hour after eleven, the Sheriffs attended at St. James's, to know his Majeſty's pleaſure, when he would be waited on with the City Addreſs, Remonſtrance, and Petition; they waited till twenty minutes after two, when, the Levee being over, they, with the Remembrancer, were admitted into the Cloſet, when Mr. Sheriff Townſend addreſſed himſelf to his Majeſty in the following words;

May it Pleaſe your Majeſty,

By Order of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall aſſembled, we took the earlieſt opportunity, as was our duty, to wait upon your Majeſty; and, being prevented by one of your Majeſty's Houſhold, who informed us, that it was your Majeſty's Pleaſure to receive us this Day, wait on your Majeſty, humbly to know when your Majeſty will pleaſe to be attended with an humble Addreſs, Remonſtrance, and Petition.

To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

"As the caſe is entirely new, I will take time to conſider of it, and tranſmit you an anſwer by one of my principal ſecretaries of ſtate."

While the Sheriffs were waiting, Lord Denbigh came up to the City Remembrancer, and aſked him, whether the Addreſs, &c. was ſigned and ſealed, or how it was authenticated? The Remembrancer ſaid, he was a city officer, and that it was no part of his office to give Lord Denbigh an anſwer to his queſtion. Lord Denbigh then went to Mr. Sheriff Townſhend, and aſked him, whether the buſineſs which brought him there was not new and ſingular; and whether the city had ever preſented

preſented a Remonſtrance to the King before? Mr. Townſhend replied with another queſtion, Did ever a King of England before turn a deaf ear to the petitions of 60,000 Freeholders, and his back on thoſe who preſented them? Lord Denbigh then aſked what made a corporate act? Mr. Townſhend laughingly anſwered, an act of the corporation to be ſure.

On Thurſday evening, March 8, the Sheriffs received the following letter fom Lord Weymouth:

Gentlemen, *St. James's, March* 8, 1770.

The King commands me to inform you, in conſequence of the meſſage which you brought yeſterday to St. James's, that he is *always ready* to receive applications from *any of his ſubjects*; but as the preſent caſe of Addreſs, Remonſtrance and Petition, ſeems entirely new, I am commanded to enquire of you, in what manner it is *authenticated*, and what the *nature of the aſſembly* was, in which this meaſure was adopted?—When you furniſh ME with anſwers to theſe queſtions, I ſhall ſignify to you his Majeſty's further pleaſure.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
WEYMOUTH.

Sheriffs of London.

Friday noon, at twenty minutes after 12, the Sheriffs went to St. James's. About one, Lord Bolingbroke, the Lord in waiting, came: the Remembrancer told him, that the Sheriffs of London were attending his Majeſty's pleaſure, and that they required an audience. Some time after, Lord Bolingbroke came out, and enquired of the Sheriffs

riffs, whether he was to tell his Majeſty that they came with a freſh meſſage, or with a meſſage? The Sheriffs anſwered, With a meſſage. Soon after, the two Secretaries of ſtate, Lord Rochford and Lord Weymouth, came to the Sheriffs. Lord Weymouth aſked them, whether they had received his letter, which was written by his Majeſty's order?

Sheriffs. We have.

Lord Weymouth. His Majeſty deſires to know whether you come in conſequence of that letter, or whether you come on any freſh buſineſs?

Sheriffs. We come in conſequence of that letter.

Lord Weymouth. Would it not be more proper to ſend an anſwer in writing through me?

Sheriffs. We act miniſterially. As Sheriffs of London we have a right to an audience; and cannot communicate to any other perſon than the King, the ſubject of our meſſage.

Lord Weymouth. "I do not diſpute your right to an audience: but would it not be better and more accurate to give your meſſage to me in writing?"

Sheriffs. "We know the value and conſequence of the citizens right to apply immediately to the King, and not to a third perſon; and we do not mean that any of their rights and privileges ſhall be betrayed by our means."

His Majeſty's levee began at a quarter paſt two, at which time the two ſecretaries came to the ſheriffs, and Lord Weymouth ſaid, his Majeſty, *underſtanding* that you come miniſterially, *authorized* with a meſſage *from the city of London*, will ſee you as ſoon as the levee is over.

As ſoon as the levee was over, the ſheriffs were introduced into the King's cloſet. The King did not,

not, as uſual, receive them alone, but Lord Gower, Lord Rochford, and Lord Weymouth were preſent. Mr. Sheriff Townſhend addreſſed his Majeſty in theſe words:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

When we had laſt the honour to appear before your Majeſty, your Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to *promiſe* an ANSWER by one of your Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate; but we had yeſterday QUESTIONS propoſed to us by Lord Weymouth. In anſwer to which, we beg leave humbly to inform your Majeſty, that the application which we make to your Majeſty, we make as ſheriffs of the city of London, by direction of the livery in common-hall legally aſſembled. The addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition, to be preſented to your Majeſty by their chief magiſtrate, is the act of the citizens of London in their greateſt court; and is ordered by them to be properly authenticated as their Act.

To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to reply.

"I will conſider of the anſwer you have given me."

Whereupon the ſheriffs withdrew.

When the ſheriffs went into the cloſet, the City Remembrancer, according to his office and duty, would have attended them; but Lord Bolingbroke ſhoved him back; inſiſting upon it, that he had not a right to go in, and ſhould not enter there. When the ſheriffs audience was ended, the Remembrancer, like a man, an Engliſhman, and a worthy officer of a great and powerful city, very ſpiritedly and properly told Lord Bolingbroke, that his Lordſhip had done wrong; for that as Remembrancer, attending the ſheriffs, he had a right to enter the cloſet with

with the ſheriffs. Lord Bolingbroke ſaid, It might perhaps be ſo; but that he had never been in waiting on ſuch an occaſion before, and hoped he never ſhould again.

On Monday, March 12, the following letter was received by the ſheriffs:

Gentlemen, *St. James's, March* 12, 1770.

" The king has commanded me to ſignify to you his Majeſty's pleaſure, that he will receive on Wedneſday next, at two o'Clock in the afternoon, the Addreſs, Remonſtrance and Petition, which you have informed his Majeſty is to be preſented by the chief magiſtrate of the city of London.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient
Humble ſervant,
Sheriffs of London. WEYMOUTH.

Wedneſday, March 14, at one o'Clock, the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, attended by the ſheriffs, Townſhend and Sawbridge, the aldermen Trecothick and Stephenſon, the city officers, 153 common-council men, and the committee of the livery, in 56 carriages, went in proceſſion from Guildhall to St. James's, to preſent the City Remonſtrance to his Majeſty, amidſt the acclamations of a vaſt multitude of ſpectators aſſembled on that occaſion.

At two o'Clock his Majeſty, ſeated on the throne, and attended by their Royal Highneſſes the Dukes of Glouceſter and Cumberland, the great officers of ſtate, and a great number of the principal nobility, received the city Remonſtrance.

The common Serjeant (in the abſence of the Recorder) began to read it, but not being able to proceed (attributed by ſome to confuſion, by others to illneſs) Sir James Hodges read it.

To

To which Addreſs, Remonſtrance, and Petition, his Majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

"I ſhall be always ready to receive the requeſts, and to liſten to the complaints of my ſubjects; but it gives me great concern to find that any of them ſhould have been ſo far miſled as to offer me an Addreſs and Remonſtrance, the contents of which I cannot but conſider as diſreſpectful to me, injurious to my parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the conſtitution.

I have ever made the laws of the land the rule of my conduct, eſteeming it my chief glory to reign over a free people. With this view I have always been careful, as well to execute faithfully the truſt repoſed in me, as to avoid even the appearance of invading any of thoſe powers which the conſtitution has placed in other hands. It is only by perſevering in ſuch a conduct, that I can either diſcharge my own duty, or ſecure to my ſubjects the free enjoyment of thoſe rights which my family were called to defend: And while I act upon theſe principles, I ſhall have a right to expect, and I am confident I ſhall continue to receive, the ſteady and affectionate ſupport of my people."

The Lord Mayor replied, that as Chief Magiſtrate of the City, and alſo one of their repreſentatives in parliament, he conſidered himſelf as their ſervant; and that he had done no more than his duty.

From the PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR, *March* 19, 1770.

I Believe there is no man, however indifferent about the intereſts of this country, who will

not readily confeſs that the ſituation, to which we are now reduced, whether it has ariſen from the violence of faction, or from an arbitrary ſyſtem of government, juſtifies the moſt melancholy apprehenſions, and calls for the exertion of whatever wiſdom or vigour is left among us. The K—'s anſwer to the Remonſtrance of the city of London, and the meaſures ſince adopted by the miniſtry, amount to a plain declaration, that the principle, on which Mr. Luttrell was ſeated in the houſe of commons, is to be ſupported in all its conſequences, and carried to its utmoſt extent. The ſame ſpirit, which violated the freedom of election, now invades the declaration and bill of rights, and threatens to puniſh the ſubject for exerciſing a privilege, hitherto undiſputed, of petitioning the crown. The grievances of the people are aggravated by inſults; their complaints not merely diſregarded, but checked by authority; and every one of thoſe acts, againſt which they remonſtrated, confirmed by the K—'s deciſive approbation. At ſuch a moment, no honeſt man will remain ſilent or inactive. However diſtinguiſhed by rank or property, in the rights of freedom we are all equal. As we are Engliſhmen, the leaſt conſiderable man among us has an intereſt, equal to the proudeſt nobleman, in the laws and conſtitution of his country, and is equally called upon to make a generous contribution in ſupport of them;—whether it be the heart to conceive, the underſtanding to direct, or the hand to execute. It is a common cauſe, in which we are all intereſted, in which we ſhould all be engaged. The man who deſerts it at this alarming criſis, is an enemy to his country, and, what I think of infinitely leſs value, a traitor to his S——n. The ſubject, who is truly loyal to the chief magiſtrate, will neither adviſe nor ſubmit

to

to arbitrary meaſures. The city of London have given an example, which, I doubt not, will be followed by the whole kingdom. The noble ſpirit of the metropolis is the life blood of the ſtate, collected at the heart: from that point it circulates, with health and vigour, through every artery of the conſtitution. The time is come, when the body of the Engliſh people muſt aſſert their own cauſe: conſcious of their ſtrength, and animated by a ſenſe of their duty, they will not ſurrender their birthright to miniſters, parliaments, or kings.

The city of London have expreſſed their ſentiments with freedom and firmneſs; they have ſpoken truth boldly; and, in whatever light their Remonſtrance may be repreſented by courtiers, I defy the moſt ſubtle lawyer in this country to point out a ſingle inſtance, in which they have exceeded the truth. Even that aſſertion, which we are told is moſt offenſive to parliament, in the theory of the Engliſh conſtitution, is ſtrictly true. If any part of the repreſentative body be not choſen by the people, that part vitiates and corrupts the whole. If there be a defect in the repreſentation of the people, that power, which alone is equal to the making of laws in this country, is not complete, and the acts of parliament under that circumſtance, are not the acts of a pure and entire legiſlature. I ſpeak of the theory of our conſtitution; and whatever difficulties or inconveniences may attend the practice, I am ready to maintain, that, as far as the fact deviates from the principle, ſo far the practice is vicious and corrupt. I have not heard a queſtion raiſed upon any other part of the Remonſtrance. That the principle, on which the Middleſex Election was determined, is more pernicious in its effects, than either the levying of ſhip-money by Charles the Firſt, or the ſuſpending power aſſumed by his ſon, will hardly be diſputed

by

by any man who underſtands or wiſhes well to the Engliſh conſtitution. It is not an act of open violence done by the King, or any direct and palpable breach of the laws attempted by his miniſter, that can ever endanger the liberties of this country. Againſt ſuch a King or miniſter the people would immediately take the alarm, and all parties unite to oppoſe him. The laws may be groſsly violated in particular inſtances, without any direct attack upon the whole ſyſtem. Facts of that kind ſtand alone; they are attributed to neceſſity, not defended upon principle. We can never be really in danger, until the forms of parliament are made uſe of to deſtroy the ſubſtance of our civil and political liberties;—until parliament itſelf betrays its truſt, by contributing to eſtabliſh new principles of government, and employing the very weapons, committed to it by the collective body, to ſtab the conſtitution.

As for the terms of the Remonſtrance, I preſume it will not be affirmed, by any perſon leſs poliſhed than a gentleman uſher, that this is a ſeaſon for compliments. Our gracious ——— indeed is abundantly civil to himſelf. Inſtead of an Anſwer to a Petition, his ——— very gracefully pronounces his own panegyric; and I confeſs, that, as far as his perſonal behaviour, or the royal purity of his intentions is concerned, the truth of thoſe declarations, which the miniſter has drawn up for his maſter, cannot decently be diſputed. In every other reſpect, I affirm that they are abſolutely unſupported, either in argument or fact. I muſt add too, that ſuppoſing the Speech were otherwiſe unexceptionable, it is not a direct Anſwer to the Petition of the city. His ——— is pleaſed to ſay, that he is always ready to receive the requeſts of his ſubjects; yet the ſheriffs were twice ſent back with an excuſe, and it was certainly

ly debated in council whether or no the magiſtrates of the city of London ſhould be admitted to an audience. Whether the Remonſtrance be or be not injurious to parliament, is the very queſtion between the parliament and the people, and ſuch a queſtion, as cannot be decided by the aſſertion of a third party, however reſpectable. That the petitioning for a diſſolution of parliament is irreconcilable with the principles of the conſtitution is a new doctrine. His M——y perhaps has not been informed, that the houſe of commons themſelves have, by a formal reſolution, admitted it to be the right of the ſubject. His ——— proceeds to aſſure us that he has made the laws the rule of his conduct.——Was it in ordering or permitting his miniſters to apprehend Mr. Wilkes by a general warrant?——Was it in ſuffering his miniſters to revive the obſolete maxim of *nullum tempus* to rob the Duke of Portland or his property, and thereby give a deciſive turn to a county election?——Was it in erecting a chamber conſultation of ſurgeons with authority to examine into and ſuperſede the legal verdict of a jury? Or did his ——— conſult the laws of this country, when he permitted his ſecretary of ſtate, to declare, that, whenever the civil magiſtrate is trifled with, a military force muſt be ſent for, *without the delay of a moment*, and effectually employed? Or was it in the barbarous exactneſs, with which this illegal, inhuman doctrine was carried into execution?——If his ——— had recollected theſe facts, I think he would never have ſaid, at leaſt with any reference to the meaſures of his government, that he had made the laws the rule of his conduct. To talk of preſerving the affections or relying on the ſupport of his ſubjects while he continues to act upon theſe principles, is indeed paying a compliment to their loyalty,

alty, which I hope they have too much ſpirit and underſtanding to deſerve.

His ———, we are told, is not only punctual in the performance of his own duty, but careful not to aſſume any of thoſe powers which the conſtitution has placed in other hands. Admitting this laſt aſſertion to be ſtrictly true, it is no way to the purpoſe. The city of London have not deſired the —— to aſſume a power placed in other hands. If they had, I ſhould hope to ſee the perſon, who dared to preſent ſuch a petition, immediately impeached. They ſolicit their —— to exert that conſtitutional authority, which the laws have veſted in him for the benefit of his ſubjects. They call upon him to make uſe of his lawful prerogative in a caſe, which our laws evidently ſuppoſed might happen, ſince they have provided for it by truſting the Soveregin with a diſcretionary power to diſſolve the parliament. This requeſt will, I am confident, be ſupported by remonſtrances from all parts of the kingdom. His ——— will find at laſt, that this is the ſenſe of his people, and that it is not his intereſt to ſupport either miniſtry or parliament, at the hazard of a breach with the collective body of his ſubjects.—That he is the king of a free people is indeed his greateſt glory. That he may long continue the king of a free people, is the ſecond wiſh that animates my heart. The firſt is, THAT THE PEOPLE MAY BE FREE.

JUNIUS.

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